

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01180 01 OF 02 161401Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----161431Z 019028 /50

O R 161245Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9326
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIBREVILLE 1180

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM YOUNG

DEPT PASS SECRETARY
DEPT FOR CHRISTOPHER, TARNOFF ONLY
NSC FOR BREZINSKI
LISBON FOR LAKE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AF
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH BONGO AND STRATEGY FOR MAPUTO CONFERENCE

1. I LEFT PORUTUGAL THIS MORNING AFTER VERY GOOD TALKS
YESTERDAY WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT ON HIS MEETING WITH VORSTER AND
ON OUR STARTEGY AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE. AMONG OTHER
THINGS WE DISCUSSED WERE SOME OVERALL IMPRESSIONS I HAVE
DEVELOPED FROM MY TALKS WITH HOUPHOUET IN ABKDJAN
(ABIDJAN 4918) ACHEAMPONG AND FELLI IN ACCRA (CABLED FROM
LISBON) AND TOLBERT AD DENNIS IN MONROVIA (
MONROVIA 3358). LIKE OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS , THEY ARE MORE
FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT NOW THAN
AT ANYPOINT SINCE THE EARLY SIXTIES. THEY ARE EXCITED BY THE NEW
ATTENTION THIS ADMINISTRATION IS GIVING AFRICAN QUESTIONS AND
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FEEL THE CONTINENT-BOTH ITS PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNTIES-- IS
FINALLY RECEIVING THE ATTENTION THEY DESERVE. AT THE
SAME TIME, THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT WE TAKE THE AFRICAN
MODERATE STATES FOR GRANTED AND DEVOTE A DISPROPORTIONATE
AMOUNT OF ATTENTION AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE MORE RADICAL
STATES. THEY ARE DISTURBED ABOUT GROWING SOVIET INVOLVE-
MENT IN THE CONTINENT. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE SHOULD

DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THIS SENSITIVITY AND ANXIETY OF THE MODERATES, AND THE DEEP CONCERN THEY EXPRESS ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS IN AFRICA.

2. I INTEND TO EXPLORE THE CONCERNS OF AFRICAN STATES FURTHER WITH PRESIDENT BONGO IN LIBREVILLE TODAY, AND WITH OTHERS IN MAPUTO. WITH BONGO'S ASSUMING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE OAU IN JUNE, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO BEGIN NOW TO DO ALL WE CAN TO CONVINCE HIM AND THE OTHER MODERATES OF OUR SUPPORT AND IN TURN TO BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO GET THEIR HELP WHEN WE NEED IT.

3. REGARDING MAPUTO, I PLAN TO CONSULT INTENSIVELY WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND WITH KEY AFRICAN LEADERS WHO WILL HAVE A MAJOR VOICE IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE. KEY IN THAT LAST REGARD ARE SALIM OF TANZANIA, HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA, AND KAMANA OF ZAMBIA. ALL THREE AT THE NEW DELHI NON ALIGNED MEETING THIS SPRING WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN PREVENTING LAUGHTE FROM EMERGING WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE OUR EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AT MAPUTO, THE ATMOSPHERE WILL BE DIFFERENT BECAUSE THE FOCUS WILL BE EXCLUSIVELY ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. BUT SALIM, HARRIMAN AND KAMANA ALL RESPONDED VERY ENTHUSIASTICALLY WHEN I TOLD THEM I WAS LEADING A US DELEGATION TO MAPUTO. THEY WELL KNOW AND APPRECIATE THAT OUR DECISION TO ATTEND WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING THE FRENCH, BRITISH AND GERMANS TO ATTEND.

SINCE PERHAPS THE BIGGEST COMPLAINT THE AFRICANS HAVE OF WESTERN STATES AT THE UN
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IS THAT WE IGNORE THEM AND REFUSE TO ENGAGE THEM AS FULL PARTNERS IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS, OUR COLLECTIVE PRESENCE AT MAPUTO WILL HAVE IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS, EVEN WHEN WE ARE FORCED TO POINT OUT THAT WE MUST JOINTLY DISAGREE WITH AN AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW.

4. I AM FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE APPROACH AGREED IN NEW YORK BY THE WESTERN GROUP (USUN 1504). WE ARE PLANNING TO MEET WITH OUR WESTERN FRIENDS AS SOON AS WE LAND IN MAPUTO. WHILE WE WILL NOT KNOW THE ATMOSPHERE IN MAPUTO UNTIL WE ARRIVE, I THINK ALL WESTERN MEMBERS AGREE THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THE FINAL DECLARATION WILL BE SOMETHING WE CAN SUPPORT. THE WESTERN GOAL MUST THEREFORE BE TO MAINTAIN AS MUCH RECEPTIVITY AS POSSIBLE REGARDING OUR INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE ARE THEREFORE GOING TO SCHEDULE AN INTENSIVE SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN MYSELF AND THE LARGE NUMBER OF KEY AFRICAN LEADERS WHO ARE IN ATTENDANCE. OUR PURPOSE WILL BE TO PREVENT FOLLOW UP ACTION SPRINGING FROM MAPUTO

WHICH WILL PLACE INSURMOUNTABLE ROADBLOCKS IN THE PATH
OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERNAFRICA.

5. WE APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENTS GUIDANCE REGARDING
DISCUSSION WITH THE KEY ACTORS IN THIS ISSUE(STATE
107483). I AGREE THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO
TALK TO NUJOMA, THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA,
MACHEL, AND ANGOLA. IN THESE TALKS I WOULD PLAN TO HAVE
JAMES MURRAY OF UKUN AND DON PETTERSON WITH ME SO THEY
CAN IMPART SOME OF THE ATMOSPHERE AS WELL AS THE SUBSTANCE
OF THE CAPETOWN TALKS.

6. I AM SCHEDULED TO SPEAK ON THE 19 AT THE CONFERENCE.
USING THE DEPARTMENTS DRAFT (STATE 107640) WE HAVE
PREPARED ANOTHER DRAFT, WHICH WE DISCUSSED WITH TONY LAKE
AND THE VP PARTY IN LISBON AND WHICH TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
THEIR COMMENTS. AS INSTRUCTED BY THE DEPARTMENT, WE SHALL
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ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT TALKING POINTS AGREED TO BY THE
FIVE WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK. WHEN WE SEE WHAT
THE PREVAILING ATMOSPHERE AT MAPUTO IS, AND WHAT SOME OF
THE AFRICAN HAVE BEEN SAYING BOTH IN THEIR SPEECHES AND
PRIVATELY TO US, WE MAY NEED TO MAKE ADDITIONAL REVISIONS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO SECRETARY.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----161532Z 020320 /42

O R 161245Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9327
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LIBREVILLE 1180

EXDIS

7. REGARDING MY TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE I AM SORRY THAT THE UNIVERSITY APPEARANCE WILL NOT TAKE PLACE, I AM COMFORTABLE WITH PRESENT SCHEDULE. AS I HAVE TOLD THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPARTMENT, I AM COMMITTED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE VISIT. WE MAY YET HAVE SOME PROBLEMS WITH THE PRESS AS A RESULT OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS ATTITUDE ABOUT MY PLANE. IF I HAVE TO TAKE COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT, ANY TRAVELLING PRESS WILL HAVE TO MAKE THEIR OWN ARRANGEMENTS. THIS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO DO AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO DRAMATIZE THE PLANE ISSUE. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID IN A LISBON PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WE WANTED TO TAKE OUR PLANE BUT AS YOU KNOW, THE SUBSEQUENT INDICATIONS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ALL NEGATIVE. IF WE GET A FORMAL REFUSAL, WE CAN TRY TO FACILITATE THEIR INDEPENDENT TRAVEL.

8. THE MESSAGE I MUST TAKE TO SOUTH AFRICA IS NECESSARILY OUT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE AND THE PERSUASIVENESS OF THAT MODERATE MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE, HAS ONLY BEEN ENHANCED BY THE FUROR THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE MANAGED TO CREATE REGARDING THE NTIRE TRIP. THE DPARTMENTS DRAFT REFLECTS CLOSELY THE LENGTHY DISCUSSION I HAD
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WITH DEPARTMENT OFFICERS WHO DRAFTED IT. I WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS OR ADDITIONS YOU WOULD MAKE IN WHAT I PLAN TO SAY.

9. A FINAL AND UNRELATED POINT. I NOTE THAT YOU WILL BE MEETING WITH WALDHEIM IN GENEVA. AS YOU MAY RECALL, BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND YOU RAISED WITH WALDHEIM OUR STRONG DESIRE THAT HE REPLACE LABOUISSIE IN UNICEF WITH ANOTHER AMERICAN-- IN THIS CASE JIM GRANT. WALDHEIM IN THE MEANTIME HAS COME UNDER INTENSIVE PRESSURE FROM THE SWEDES TO APPOINT THE HEAD OF THEIR AID PROGRAM, MICHANEK, TO THAT POST. ALTHOUGH THE DECISION IS THE SYGS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE RESULT OF AN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC POPULARITY CONTEST, THE SWEDES HAVE AGGRESSIVELY BEEN ROUNDING UP DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT IN PREPARATION FOR THE MAY UNICEF BOARD MEETING. I WOULD HOPE YOU CAN STRESS AGAIN TO WALDHEIM THAT THIS POST IS CRITICAL TO S. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR OVERALL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF THE UN. HE IS NOW THINKING OF A COMPROMISE THAT WOULD REQUEST LABOUISSIE TO REMAIN ON FOR ANOTHER YEAR, THAT THE SWEDES ALLOW WALDHEIM TO APPOINT THEIR CANDIDATE TO REPLACE JOHN HANNAH AS HEAD OF THE WORLD FOOD COUNCIL, THAT A BRIT REPLACE THE US

NATIONAL NOW THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR ADMINISTRATION
AND A US NATIONAL REPLACE THE JAPANESE NATIONAL
NOW HEADING UN PRESS OPERATIONS. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ACCEPT
THIS GENERAL APPROACH, BUT PRESS WALSEIM
TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE GRANT APPOINTMENT. LABOUISSIE HAS
TOLD US HE FEELS HE DEFINITELY SHOULD RETIRE NOW AND
NEXT YEAR WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO POSITION A QUALIFIED
CANDIDATE FOR REPLACEMENT. STEIGMAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, INFORMATION CONTROL, NEGOTIATIONS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LIBREV01180
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770173-0373
Format: TEL
From: LIBREVILLE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770553/aaaabuaf.tel
Line Count: 232
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2507568
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH BONGO AND STRATEGY FOR MAPUTO CONFERENCE
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, AF, XA, MZ, US, (HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, FELIX), (TOLBERT, WILLIAM R), (BONGO, EL HADJ OMAR), (ACHEAMPONG, IGNATIUS KUTU)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/62224693-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009